

Chinese Settlers in the Village of Hilo before 1852

Peggy Kai

Among the Chinese in the Hawaiian Islands before 1852, there was a group who settled in the village of Hilo. Their story is unique in several ways. They were all sugar manufacturers or "sugar masters"; they all married Hawaiian women, in some cases women of very high rank. They became citizens of the Kingdom of Hawaii, remaining in Hawaii for the rest of their lives, breaking the usual pattern of overseas Chinese, many of whom planned to make money in the new land and then return home. They appear to have been melded into the local community to a greater extent than some of the other Chinese of the period in Hawaii; and they gained the trust and cooperation of the highest ranking chief of the island, Governor Kuakini. All of them became landowners, and two of them owned or chartered ships. Three of them were granted ownership to their lands in the Great Mahele.

These early Chinese settlers in Hilo were also unique in that they included their Hawaiian wives in their business dealings. In Chinese culture and among most Chinese elsewhere in Hawaii until the middle of the 20th century, it was not customary to include wives in business arrangements. Even in wills, property was usually left to the sons with the understanding that they would take care of their mothers and unmarried sisters. This inclusion of the wives in official documents has made the identification of these Chinese settlers more certain. Hawaiian women's names were peculiarly their own at this period and few women shared the same name, whereas Chinese names are few and shared by many. The Chinese names of the men in this group were Hawaiianized and the Hawaiian names so replaced their Chinese names that the knowledge of them was completely lost by the descendants.

The Chinese and Hawaiianized names of the men to be considered were as follows: (Chinese characters in Glossary)

Tang Hung Sin	became	Ahsin, Akina
Tang Chow	became	Akau, Akao

Peggy Kai is the wife of Ernest Kai, a descendant of one of the Chinese included in this study.

Lum Jo	became	Ahcho, Aicho, Aiko
Lau Fai	became	Hapai, L. Hapai
Chee In	became	Aaina, Ahin, Aiin, A'ina
Lau? Cheong	became	John Ko, Keoniko, Keoni Ko
Zane (Tseng)		Shang Enna, John Ener, Keoni
Shang Hsien (In)	became	Ina, John Ena

There were other Chinese men who came and went in Hilo and its surrounding area before 1852, and there were some who settled in Hilo toward the end of the period under consideration, but the group listed above were permanent settlers. They worked together in various combinations; they stood security for each other in applications for licenses, they leased, mortgaged, bought and sold land to one another. One gave a child to another for adoption, and some may have been related as brothers or cousins. Their Hawaiian-Chinese children continued these close ties through school, adult friendships and marriages. Many of their descendants still live in Hilo.

The Hilo in which these Chinese settled was a small village on the shores of a wide, crescent bay. No offshore reef protected the waters of the bay from ocean swells and storms. Hawaiian sailing canoes, interisland schooners, and foreign sailing vessels took their chances with the weather. There was no wharf and people and freight were landed on the beach through the surf.

Early travelers often wrote of the beauty of the village itself, with its tropical green lushness and dramatic backdrop of towering mountains. Breadfruit, kukui, and coconut trees grew luxuriantly, and the long leaves of the banana and sugar cane hid many of the houses, most of which were thatched.¹ Rivers, *auwai* (small streams with irrigation rights), and springs, in addition to high annual rainfall, supplied abundant water for human use and irrigation. Fresh-water fishponds and irrigated taro patches were abundant.

There were few roads beyond the village. Produce from outlying areas was carried in calabashes hung in *koko* nets (sling nets braided of coconut sennit) hung from carrying poles, or was transported by canoe along the coast. Contact with people and transportation of produce on the north side of the village was further limited by the Wailuku River, which was wide and often turbulent. Even as late as 1865 the river was spanned only by a chain cable bridge.² The district beyond the river then, as now, offered suitable soil and rainfall for growing sugar cane.

The population of Hilo at the time the Chinese group settled there was predominantly Hawaiian. There were the high chiefs who controlled the *ahupuaas* of Piihonua, Ponahawai, Punahoa, Kukuau, and Waiakea; the lesser chiefs were in control of their *ilis* (subdivisions within the *ahupuaa*); and the common people lived on their *kuleanas* (smaller divisions within the *ahupuaa* or the *ili*). Over them all was the Governor of the Island of Hawaii, who at that time was Kuakini, also called John Adams. He acted for the king, who

was then Kamehameha III. The high chiefs of the large *ahupuaas* were not always resident on their lands, as they usually owned lands in other parts of the Islands. Kuakini, however, traveled frequently to the Hilo area and apparently took an interest in its development.

There were a few Caucasian foreigners living there, including the American Christian Mission families of Titus Coan and David Belden Lyman, as well as an American businessman named Benjamin Pitman, and possibly ten others. The Chinese formed the other major group of foreigners.

The geographical area of the village of Hilo in the 1840s and 1850s was that small portion now bound by Kamehameha Avenue, Waianuenue Avenue, Kapiolani and Haili Streets.

Exact dating of the arrivals of the Chinese sugar masters in Hawaii has not been possible, but evidence of various types suggests that they came between 1825 and 1840. If the question of when they came cannot yet be answered, the question of why they came can. They came as adventurers and sugar manufacturers. They were acquainted with how to convert sugar cane into crystalized sugar. That there was a need for such skill in Hawaii in the 1820s and 30s was recorded by Tatler (believed to have been Stephen Reynolds) in the *Sandwich Island Mirror* :

There was no one acquainted with the art of sugar making, consequently the cane was left to contend with the weeds. . . . For want of a person well skilled in making sugar, it [the sugar plantation in Manoa Valley] was a losing concern. . . .³

The possession of this knowledge appears to have been jealously guarded by some of the Chinese as late as 1839. In these revealing letters between Ladd & Company and their plantation manager on Kauai is the following account:

. . . the little Chinaman [working at Koloa Plantation] is bent on going to Oahu for some cause which I cannot find out. He says that if he does not go it will be all same to him as *hemo ka poo* [cut off his head].

After having a great deal of talk with him I learn that the Chinamen at Oahu have written him some rather saucy letters. He says that for showing someone he calls Sam how to make sugar at Hanalei the Chinamen at Honolulu tell him to pay 500 dollars and if he did not pay it that he should be put in irons and sent to Macao.⁴

One account of sugar manufacturers coming to Hawaii lists their names. Unfortunately the account, which appeared in 1929, gave no references for statements made although one of the publishers told the author that the information came from common knowledge and from research. Three of the names and possibly five are those of Chinese men who settled in Hilo. The published account is written in Chinese, therefore the characters for the names are reproduced in the Glossary. The account as translated is as follows:

Between 1820-1840 they [four Chinese men already resident in the Kingdom of Hawaii] sent for from China as experienced sugar masters six men—Lau Cheong [Keoniko?], Tang Chow [Akau], Tang Sin [Akina], Lum Jo [Aiko], Tsang Mui, Tsang Sing [John Ena?]. They either worked in the sugar room or operated the mill. All became naturalized citizens. All married Hawaiian women.⁵

In 1835, a group of four Chinese sugar boilers arrived in Hawaii on the

Brig *Diana* with Captain Joseph O. Carter, an American sea captain trading in the Pacific. Unfortunately, the names of these men have not been found. An account of their arrival was given in a letter from William Ladd, of the firm of Ladd & Company in Honolulu, to his partner, William Hooper, on Kauai:

On 7 [September 7, 1835] the *Diana* arrived 92 days from Canton via Bonin Islands. A few days after leaving Bonin Capt. Ebbets died and was buried. . . . Brig full of miscellaneous cargo . . . the principal of the balance to the Chinamen in French's employ. . . . There were in the Brig four Chinese sugar manufacturers with a stone mill and 400 to 600 pots for cloying and 5 cast Iron Boilers. They are under control of Atti [Ahtai who was employed by William French] and hopefully can be obtained on fair terms. . . .⁶

It is not known whether these four sugar manufacturers worked for French at Waimea, Kauai, nor, if they worked on Kauai, where they went after French's plantation there was closed in 1838.

William Ladd, writing again to William Hooper in 1838, expressed little hope and considerable disdain for Chinese sugar men:

We are satisfied that the Chinese will not succeed in establishing mills in these Islands at any profit . . . could they hire lands and work themselves it might be different. They are too sharp to gain the confidence of the Chiefs. . . .⁷

He had not counted on the High Chief Kuakini, Governor of the Island of Hawaii. Unlike the Kauai chiefs who made life difficult for Hooper, Kuakini possibly initiated and certainly supported early Chinese sugar ventures on his island. He was recognized as one of the most intelligent of the Hawaiian chiefs of this period and was one of the first to grasp Western economic concepts and to use them for his own benefit. He did not find the "Chinese too sharp to gain his confidence."

In 1840, Lieutenant Charles Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition saw two or three Chinese in Hilo running a sugar mill for Kuakini on Ponahawai Hill. His account is as follows:

Governor Adams Kuakini owns a small mill, in charge of two or three Chinamen. . . . It is worked by a small stream led from the Wailuku River. . . . The cane comes to perfection in twelve months. . . . There is certainly a large field here for enterprising individuals . . . as much of the land in the neighborhood is admirably adapted to this cultivation. . . .⁸

The location of Kuakini's sugar plantation was ascertained during the Hilo Boarding School Water Rights Case:

The Commission has found that the Plantation Mill of Governor Adams on the Puna side of the Halai Hills received its water power from the main ditch. . . . The only evidence to the location of the Mill places it on Ponahawai.⁹

At the same time, Kuakini had started a sugar plantation in North Kohala with Chinese. An account written in 1875, about 30 years after the plantation closed, gives this description:

Previous to 1841, probably 1839, Governor Huakini [Kuakini] of Hawaii had a few fields of cane planted in North Kohala about 75 or 100 acres . . . with the expectation of a contract with some foreigner for grinding.

In 1841, thatched buildings were put up in Iole, Kohala by the Governor, in pursuance of an agreement with Aiko, a Chinaman, who had previously followed the sea in some capacity under Captain Brewer. Aiko himself followed immediately and put up his mill—upright rollers, 18 inches in diameter, by two and a half feet bound with iron—and an overshot water wheel for motive power. The planting was done by contract with the natives in the old style . . . with an *oo* [pointed wooden digging stick] . . . digging off the grass and making the least bit of a hole for the seed. . . .¹⁰

Some years previous to 1843, Kuakini had leased or in some way contracted with a group of Chinese to grow and mill sugar on the land of Lihue in South Kohala. One of the Chinese partners in this venture was Aiko, previously mentioned in relation to the plantation in North Kohala.

In 1843, Aiko and his partners sold the Lihue mill, their tools, the cane in the fields and whatever rights they had in their original agreement with Kuakini, to Abraham H. Fayerweather. Fayerweather then made the following agreement with Kuakini:

. . . for planting and grinding of sugar cane, and making sugar and molasses at Waimea, Hawaii . . . Kuakini shall plant . . . and shall carry or cause to be carried to the Sugar Mill of A. H. Fayerweather . . . furnish men to do all the labor . . . including the grinding and shall furnish firewood for boiling the same.

. . . A. H. Fayerweather shall furnish the Mill . . . a sugar maker and all tools for making sugar and molasses . . . the proceeds shall be shared equally . . . to commence January 1, 1844. . . .

It is also agreed that the land now planted by Achow & Co. at Waimea . . . shall be free of taxes. . . .¹¹

Modern readers of the words "sugar mill" visualize a large building with a high smoke stack. The essence of the early mills was the crushing of the cane in rollers, either stone or heavy wood, collecting the resulting juice, and boiling the juice to just the right point at which it would crystallize.

The following is a description of a Chinese mill by one of the Reverend David Belden Lyman's sons, recalling walks with his father. (He was born in 1835):

On another day walking a little farther . . . two or three almond-eyed gentlemen, with long braids of hair coiled about their heads were persuading a yoke of half tamed oxen to walk in a circle, dragging after them a beam that rotated three vertical rollers, between which a native boy was insinuating slender stalks of sugar cane . . . a rivulet was pouring into a wooden gutter that penetrated the side of an adjacent building from which a cloud of steam escaped. One of the Chinamen laid down his goad, unrolled his queue, and led us into the boiling house where three large try-pots . . . were set in solid masonry over a fire that was fed . . . dried stalks of cane from which the sap had been previously pressed. Into these cauldrons the juices flowed from the mill, and in them it was bubbling and steaming at a furious rate. The pig-tailed gentleman courteously explained to us in choice Cantonese English, how to know when the process had been carried far enough; and then he showed us the syrup, ladled hot from the kettles, and set aside to crystallize in queer conical jars of porous Chinese earthenware. . . .¹²

The sugar boiler in action and his importance to the operation is described in another early account by John Mortimer Lydgate:

. . . as the density was somewhat increased by the rapid evaporation the liquid was baled over into the next pot, where further cleaning and further evaporation went on,

until . . . in the last pot it was boiled to a 'proof', the density necessary for graining. This point in the process was determined by the Chinese sugar boiler, who, with a long thin stick dipped into the pot, took out a proof, and trailed off a slender little stream into a large opihī shell full of water. And then taking the sample between thumb and finger, and holding up to the light he judged of its fitness for 'strike'. When that point was reached, the mass in the last pot was bailed out into a spout, that by the necessary connections, . . . conveyed it . . . to the coolers . . . until it had grained up from the bottom. . . .¹³

For a fuller explanation of these early mills and an illustration, see Appendix.

A'INA

The sugar plantation and mill of Governor Adams (Kuakini) seen by Captain Wilkes in 1840 was also described by a Hawaiian witness, Solomon Kaleiōholani, at the Hilo Boarding School Water Rights case. He said that it was on Ponahawai and that "cane was planted on the Puna side of Halae [Hills] down to Volcano Road [now Kilauea Ave.]"¹⁴ It must have been started sometime before 1840 as cane takes at least a year to grow and the crop for 1840 was reported to be 30 tons.¹⁵

No record has been found of the names of the "two or three" Chinese who were in charge of the mill, but two of the Chinese sugar makers who settled in Hilo were there in 1840, A'ina and Akina. In 1838, Governor Kuakini gave four acres in the village to A'ina.¹⁶ (Fig. 2) In 1840, Akina bought an acre next door to A'ina. It is possible that these two Chinese men could have been in charge of Kuakini's mill.

A'ina's Chinese name was Chee In, and he was referred to by various Hawaiian adaptations of the name: Ah In, Aiin, Ahin, Aaina and A'ina, all derived from Chee Ah In. His descendants referred to him as A'ina. Fortunately, for accurate identification a number of documents are available that he signed with both his Chinese and his Hawaiian names. Otherwise it would be easy to confuse him with John Ina (Ena) and other Ahins. Chee In when written in Chinese is the character for a bird, the swallow, a character easily identified.

A'ina's life in Hawaii is reflected by his property ownerships and dealings and by his attitudes reflected in his will and in his signing of a petition to Kamehameha III urging the king not to grant a license for a grog shop in Hilo in 1844 on the grounds that it would be bad for everyone.¹⁷ His wife was not included in business transactions as the wives of the other early Chinese settlers were; and he appears to have omitted his daughter from his will in keeping with the Chinese custom of expecting the oldest son to take care of the surviving women of the family.

During the five months in 1843 when Hawaii was ruled by the British Commission, the Commission ordered a registration of all foreign land claims. A'ina was one of those who "rendered an account of" his lands which he listed as follows:

To the Commissioners of Her Britannic Majesty for the Government of the Sandwich Islands.

Gentlemen,

Agreeable to your public notice of March 1, 1843 I enclose you an Account of Land and tenements held by me with a draught of the same. A Sugar Establishment situated on Piihonua in the district of Hilo, on the Island of Hawaii—also a Sugar establishment situated at Makahanaloa in the District of Hilo on the Island of Hawaii, also a tract of land on the aforementioned Makahanaloa held by lease for 6 years containing 50 acres of sugar cane.

I have the Honor to be,
Gentlemen

Your Obedient and Humble Servant

Aiin (Chinaman)

Chinese signature (Fig. 3)

Also a residence situated at Honolulu, Oahu.¹⁸

As A'ina had over fifty acres of sugar cane growing at Makahanaloa, beyond Papaikou, and an "establishment" which included a mill in the village of Hilo in 1843, he was certainly one of the earliest "sugar planters" in Hilo.

The "residence situated in Honolulu, Oahu" was on Hotel Street and he owned it in partnership with a Chinese man named Ahmow. Ahmow was also a partner of Ahsam as Sam and Mow Bakers. Whether Ahmow and Ahsam were also in partnership with A'ina in the Makahanaloa plantation is not known. A'ina did not list this property in his will, written in 1846, and Ahmow and Ahsam owned it in 1847.¹⁹

A'ina and Ahmow were only two of several Chinese doing business in more than one place in the Islands. This was hazardous, considering the record of sailing vessels lost between the Islands at this period. In both A'ina's and Ahmow's cases their interisland business interests led to their deaths by drowning, in 1847, in separate accidents.

Evidence presented to the Land Commission in relation to the above property on Hotel Street reveals the following:

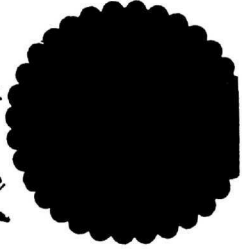
From the evidence it appears that this land was obtained by Chin [if Chin is said slowly it becomes Chee-In] alias Aaiana, a Chinaman, in or previous to the year 1825, and that he, in company with the claimant Ahmow and other Chinamen, occupied the same in peace, until the first day of September A.D. 1846 when he [Chee In] sold all his rights to land claimant, and went to live on Hawaii. . . .²⁰

The Land Commission took both native and foreign testimony in relation to claims for land that were made at the time of the *Mahele*. This land on Hotel Street was being claimed by the widow of Ahmow, a Hawaiian woman, named Deborah, whom he had married in 1844.²¹ The following evidence was recorded under Native Testimony, although the person testifying was a Chinese man called Kalauki:

Kalauki, *pake* [Chinaman] sworn by the word of God . . . I have seen the Chinaman living in that place of Amau [Ahmow] in the year 1834. Aiena [A'ina] was his name, he had been a watchmaker and he died in September of this year 1847 [actually he drowned on October 2, 1847]. Aiena had always lived here until 1846 when the property was possessed by Amau . . . Amau had given a ship to Aiena for the price of the property.²²

Akau, o kilo

鄧秋



Aun-(China-man)

徐燕

Akina (China man)

鄧行善

Fig. 3

Original signatures of Tang Chow (Akau), Chee-in (A'ina), and Tang Hung Sin (Akina).

Providently, A'ina had made a will in 1846, leaving his remaining property to his sons, Mikaele and Kamokai. There is no mention of his wife Kaehe; possibly she was dead by 1846. The will reads:

I, Aiina, do . . . bequeath to you, Kamokai and Mikaele, my sons and to your assigns, my houselot including all land . . . subject however to the will of Kamehameha III and his heirs. All my property I leave to you, my sons. I wish you two to live on said place under the King of the Hawaiian Islands as I have lived as a Hawaiian subject.

In witness hereof I affix my name²³

(For his Chinese signature see the Glossary and Fig. 3)

A'ina's "houselot" in Hilo was the four acres given to him by Kuakini. It was located just above the intersection of the present Kinoole Street with Waianuenue Avenue. (See Map, Fig. 2) The property was on both sides of Waianuenue Avenue, which was cut through the middle of the lot later. In 1853 the land was awarded to A'ina's oldest son under the name "Mikaele and heirs" as Land Commission Award 1783.

Native testimony before the Land Commission gives the following information about the land and about A'ina:

Kahalehau sworn, says this place was given to the Chinaman, Aina, by Governor Adams [Kuakini] who wrote to Namaha then *Konohiki* [representative of the chief of the *ahupuaa*] of Piihonua to that effect. The date of the letter was about the time Aina came to reside on the place [1838]. Aina and his heirs have been in quiet possession of the place from that time to the present. It is situated between the places of B. Pitman Esq., Ulu, Paulo, Kapapa, and Akina and the main road, with a street recently laid out running from Pitman Street southwesterly through the center of his *kuleana* [the extension of Waianuenue Avenue].

Ulu sworn says he [Ulu] came to live in his present place [next door to A'ina] about the year 1835 and he thinks about three years subsequently Aina came to live on the place and erected a sugar mill upon it. . . .²⁴

A'ina drowned off the Hilo coast in a sailing vessel accident on October 2, 1847, leaving his two sons, Mikaele and Kamokai, and a daughter, Maria (?). Mikaele also became known as J. P., G. P., or J. B. Mikaele.²⁵ The date and place of his birth are unknown; he died in Hilo in 1867. His wife was Ana Kamakahema, widow of Ahsam and mother of Akana.

The younger brother, Kamokai, born in 1836, was also known as Kamukai, Vikoli and Wikoli Kamukai. Later in the century he reversed the names and became known as Kamukai Victor. He died in 1903. In 1855, he married Amelia Akoi, the daughter of another early Chinese sugar master, Aiko. They are buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery off of Waianuenue Avenue. During the forty-eight years of their marriage the Victors had eleven or twelve children, including two who were named for their Chinese grandfathers, A'ina and Aiko.²⁶

AKINA

Akina's signature in clear, bold Chinese characters (Fig. 3) shows his Chinese name to have been Tang Hung Sin.²⁷ At what date he came to Hawaii

from China is not known. If he was the Tang Sin listed in the Overseas Penman Club article and if their dates are accurate, he came between 1820 and 1840. Family tradition among Akina's descendants held that he had first come to Kohala before settling in Hilo, but no documentation for this has been found. If he worked with Aiko, Hapai and others in Kohala, he came to Hilo before them and does not appear to have been involved with them in the plantation of Ponahawai which succeeded the plantation of Kuakini.

Akina was in Hilo at least by 1840 from evidence relating to an acre of property which he acquired that year in the *ahupuaa* of Piihonua. In 1843, he rendered an account of this property to the British Commission as follows:

Gentlemen

Having seen your Public Notice requesting all foreign residents to render in an Account of their Lands . . . I send you a draught of my residence and enclosure situated on Piihonua in the District of Hilo on the Island of Hawaii.

I have the honor to be

Gentlemen

Your most . . . Humble Servant,
Akina (Chinaman)

[signature in Chinese]²⁸

The land was situated on what is now the Hamakua-mauka corner of Waianuenue Avenue and Kinoole Street. (Fig. 2) When the Great Mahele made it possible for individuals to receive title to their land, Akina applied to the Land Commission. Native testimony presented to the Land Commission reveals the following:

Akina received it [the land] from Naihe in the year 1840, since which his right has not been disputed . . . he is not naturalized [citizen of the Kingdom of Hawaii] . . . the whole is in possession of Kahilo his wife. . . .²⁹

In 1851, the land was awarded to him as Land Commission Award 11046-B with the following notation:

The Board of Commissioners have this day awarded to the claimant, Akina alias Ahsin, upon sufficient evidence received upon examination of the claim, a freehold title less than allodial, subject to his optional commutation as the law prescribes, to the House Lot described in the accompanying Survey . . . situated in Piihonua, Hilo. . . .³⁰

The map of this property (Fig. 2) shows both Akina's and A'ina's lots. On the map accompanying the grant of A'ina's property to his heirs, there is an *auwai* which both lots may have used for irrigation. The *auwai* now flows under the pavement. Frederick Swartz Lyman, at the Hilo Boarding School Water Rights Case, testified as follows:

When I was a boy [he was born in 1837] Akina had one sugar plantation on the land of Piihonua; another plantation was above the hotel [A'ina's land] . . . [the two] were located by the Piihonua ditch [*auwai*] that runs through town. It used to go through the courthouse yard, now it is put under the sidewalk on Waianuenue Street. . . . The water came from the springs above the hills. . . .³¹

Family tradition also held that Akina was one of the founders of Amaulu Plantation, situated across the Wailuku River from the village of Hilo in the

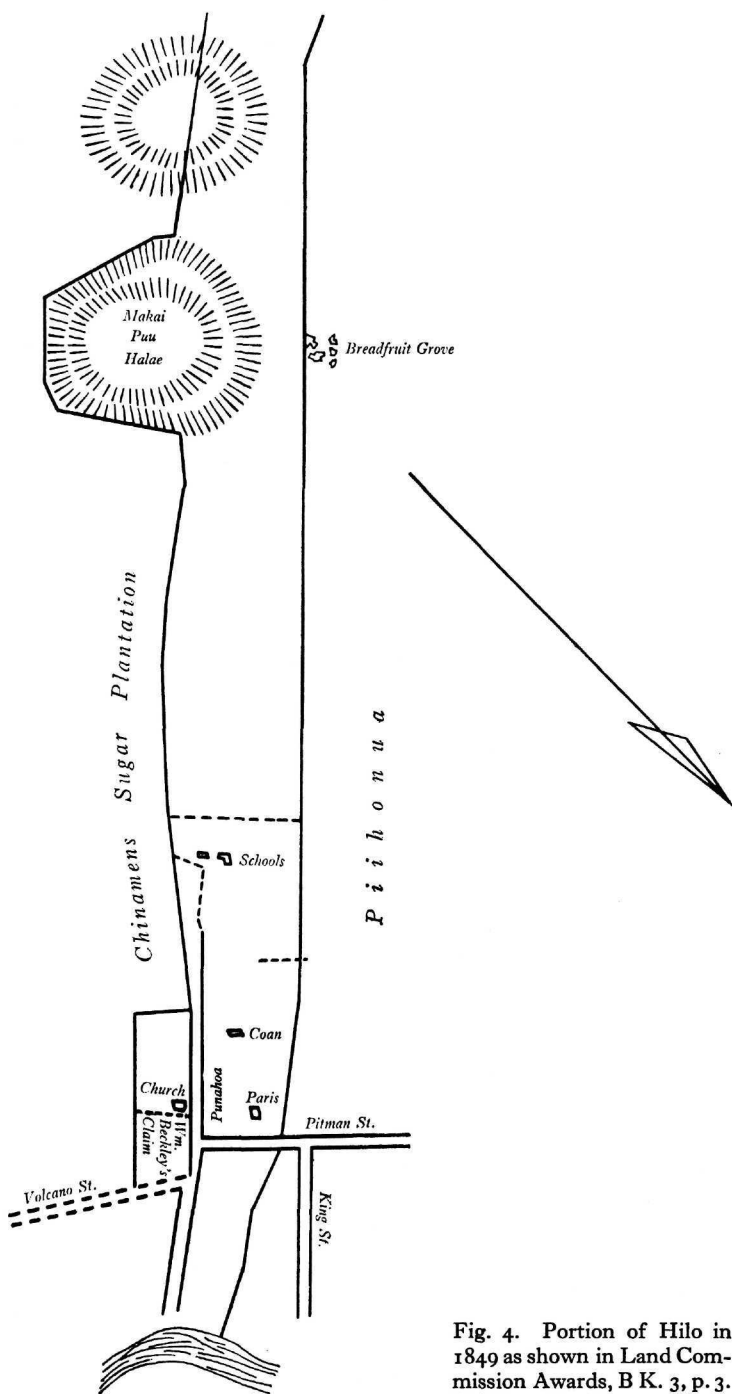


Fig. 4. Portion of Hilo in 1849 as shown in Land Commission Awards, B K. 3, p. 3.

ahupuaa of Puueo about one mile in from the shore. Three references support this tradition. First, a person named Kahilo applied to the Privy Council in the year 1849 for a grant of one hundred fifty acres of land in Puueo which, however, was turned down.³² Akina's wife's name was Kahilo. Second, the report of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society for the year 1851 includes the following:

The plantation of Ahkina at Puueo consisting of 90 acres for the year ending August 1, 1851

Total sugar sent coastwise	50,000 lbs.
On hand at the plantation	100,000 lbs.
Molasses	3,900 gals. ³³

Third, the *Honolulu Advertiser* Centennial edition carried the following article about sugar in Puueo:

In the days before Hilo Sugar [Company] was founded there were two plantations and two mills in the area named Wainaku and Amaulu.

Even before that, sugar was grown in the area by planters. There was a Chinese grower named Ah Kina who in 1851, grew cane around the present Puueo section of Hilo. . . .³⁴

No references are given for the statements in the *Advertiser*. The author may have just been quoting from the records of the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society.

In addition to sugar growing and manufacturing, Akina also had, at various times, a retail store, a bowling alley and a "victualling" establishment (a restaurant?), and at one period was "agent for parties in Honolulu."³⁵ In 1848, he applied for a retail store license.³⁶ The store was located on his houselot as evidenced by native testimony in relation to his application for a grant to the Land Commission:

Ulu [a neighbor who lived *mauka* of Akina] testifying . . . the Piihonua enclosure of Akina has three buildings on it, wooden house as retail store, a warehouse and a cook house.³⁷

A map of this area of Hilo, drawn in 1849, shows "Hale Akina," the house of Akina. Tax records show that he paid taxes on a "*pahale*," houselot, in Piihonua over a period of years. It appears that Akina lived on this property for almost thirty years, selling it in 1867 to C. E. Richardson, who by that time was married to Hapai's oldest daughter, Akananui.³⁸

Akina's bowling alley and victualling licenses were obtained in 1852³⁹ and may reflect a response to the needs created by the increase of whaling ships that spent the winter in Hawaiian ports, including Hilo. An article in *The Friend* in February 1857 noted that there were an average of 65 whaling ships in Hilo Bay during the winter. Several hundred men off these ships added to Hilo's small population created a need for restaurants and entertainment.

Akina was also dealing in land, if one reads the records of conveyances correctly. He bought a piece of property on Church Street in the heart of the

village just above Front Street in 1855 and sold part of it in 1856. In 1862 he sold the rest of it to Akau (Tang Chow), who appears to have come to Hilo in the mid-1840s.⁴⁰

In 1859, Akina and his wife were among the contributors to the new building for Haili Church. The list includes all of the Chinese who are subjects of this study excepting A'ina who was dead by 1859:

Ewo (Chinaman)	\$10
Atong and Akau (Chinamen)	\$10
Keoniki (Chinaman)	\$10
F. Ena (Chinaman)	\$10
Hapai (Chinaman)	\$30
Aiko (Chinaman)	\$
Akina and Wife (Chinaman)	\$10 ⁴¹

Akina, alias Ahsin but really Tang Hung Sin, died in 1880 or 1881, leaving one child, John Kai Akina, born in 1840. Toward the end of his life John Kai Akina dropped the Akina from his name because he said that this was not his father's real name. This research finally clarifies for his descendants Akina's name.

It should be noted that this Akina was not a member of the Akina family of Kohala, Hawaii, whose name is derived from an ancestor named Goo Chin.⁴²

LIHUE PLANTATION, WAIMEA

At least two of the Chinese, Aiko and Hapai, who settled in Hilo in the 1840s were growing and milling sugar in the Kohala district of Hawaii before going to Hilo. One plantation and mill was in the Waimea area on a section of land named Lihue, which is located on maps in the *ahupuaa* of Lalamilo, makai of the present town of Kamuela.

The Waimea of the 1830s and 40s was a busy place. Wild cattle were being caught for hides and beef, tanneries were turning hides into leather, sugar cane was being milled into sugar, and farm products were being grown. In 1835, the Protestant minister, Lorenzo Lyons, wrote to the mission headquarters in Honolulu:

Waimea ought to be supplied [with more missionaries] for it has become the residence of Governor Adams [Kuakini] . . . and many foreigners reside there. . . .⁴³

One reason for the presence of so much activity in Waimea was its proximity to the port of Kawaihae, a preferred stopping place for sailing vessels due to its relatively safe anchorage and good provisioning. The ships had access to plentiful supplies of water, salt, beef, pork, sweet potatoes, etc. The same William French who brought the four sugar boilers on the Brig *Diana* in 1835 had a store and a warehouse at Kawaihae as well as a store, a home and a

tannery in the uplands at Waimea, Kohala. A visitor to the area in 1839 described the tannery which was making shoes and saddles from the hides of the wild cattle:

After the party had left, I accompanied Mr. French on a walk to a place about two miles distant where the business of tanning is being carried on under the direction of Chinamen. The establishment is extensive and the leather exhibited . . . of a very superior quality. Besides a saddlemaker close by the tan works, Mr. French has a shoemaker and a carpenter in his employ.⁴⁴

Records have not been found giving the names of these Chinese tanners but the names of six other Chinese men who were in the Waimea area during the 1830s and early 1840s are known. These were Ahpong, Ahsam, Ahchow, Aiko (Lum Jo), Lau Ki or Kalauki, and Apokane (Ahsing).

Ahpong, who was primarily Honolulu-based, had land in Waimea which he registered with the British Commission in 1843 as follows:

To the Honorable British Commission for the Government of the Sandwich Islands

With the knowledge & permission of Gov. Adams of Hawaii, I took up about twenty-five acres of wild uncultivated lands in the District of Waimea, Island of Hawaii. I have planted Sugar Cane, erected a Sugar Mill—Sugar Houses, etc. I have no other claim to this lot than occupancy—with the knowledge & consent of the Governor, as above stated.

This, my claim is most respectfully presented
Ahpong

Witness

Stephen Reynolds, Honolulu, May 23, 1843.⁴⁵

What relationship if any Ahpong had to Lihue plantation is not known.

Ahsam was married in Waimea in 1835 or 1836. The ceremony was performed by Governor Kuakini and the bride's name was Kamakahema. Ahchow, who was later appointed administrator of Ahsam's estate, testified that he was present at the wedding.⁴⁶ As previously noted, the sugar plantation at Lihue was doing business under the name of Achow & Company. Whether Ahchow's presence in Waimea in 1835-36 at Ahsam's wedding means that the plantation was in operation at that time has not been ascertained.

The other partners in Achow & Company were Aiko, Lau Ki and Apokane.⁴⁷ Apokane, better known as Ahsing, had business interests in various parts of the Islands including Hilo but he was primarily on Oahu.

The identification of Lau Ki will be discussed later. Aiko, whose Chinese name was Lum Jo, was listed as one of the six "sugar masters" who came to Hawaii between 1820-1840. He appears to have been one of the principal partners in Lihue Plantation. He was in Waimea at least by 1835 or early 1836 because his daughter, Amelia Akoi, was born in Waimea in December of 1836.⁴⁸ Aiko left Waimea in 1843 when the plantation was sold to A. H. Fayerweather. Therefore it can be assumed that the Lihue Plantation in Waimea was in operation for some part of the eight years between 1835 and 1843.

Much of the information about Lihue plantation was derived from the records of the Waimea Water Rights Case which is in the Archives of Hawaii.

Because the case involved the question of who had the right to use the water from the Waikalua Stream which runs from the Kohala Mountains to the sea through the Waimea area, some of its testimony touched on the use that had been made of the water from the stream in the past. Lihue plantation had been one of the users of this water.

As far as can be determined, the plantation consisted of 250 acres of land enclosed by a stone wall to protect it from the wild cattle that roamed the plains.⁴⁹ Julia Fayerweather Afong testified that she remembered from her childhood at Lihue Plantation, after the Chinese had sold it to her father, that there were several houses within the walls where the Chinese families had lived, and that there were mulberry trees just inside the walls that the Chinese had planted.⁵⁰

Kainupau, a Hawaiian witness, who was born in 1818, gives us the following picture of Lihue Plantation:

There were Chinamen in Lihue . . . Aiko and Kalauki, some others I can't remember . . . they came there with their wives . . . the Chinese started the mill. . . . These two Chinamen, they raised the cane and then they ground their crop . . . after that they went to Kohala. . . .

When Aiko and Kalauki were running the sugar plantation they were the only people living inside Lihue. There were probably four houses there. . . .

The Chinamen were using the water [from Waikalua Stream] . . . passed through Lihue and went down to the people makai of Lihue. . . .⁵¹

Asked if the people makai had trouble getting water while the Chinese were running the plantation, Kainupau said:

Yes, they had trouble, but afterwards they got acquainted with these two women, the wives of these two Chinese . . . the wife of Iko [Aiko] was related to some of the people makai. . . . These two women would go down to get their vegetables and fruit from the people makai . . . when they would see it was dry they would come back and tell their husbands . . . then they [the people makai] would get their water. . . . This Chinaman [Aiko] was a very kind-hearted man.⁵²

A SUGAR PLANTATION IN NORTH KOHALA

North of Waimea across the Kohala Mountains in the *ahupuaa* of Iole was another sugar plantation run by Aiko and other Chinese. The plantation was started by Governor Kuakini in about 1839 when he had about 100 acres planted in cane "with the expectation of a contract with some foreigner for grinding." The foreigner was apparently Aiko.

Governor Kuakini had also given eight acres of land in Iole to the American Protestant Mission "just east of Kapaa and Ainakea and two miles from the shore." Much of the information about this plantation was derived from the memoirs and letters of the Reverend Elias Bond, a Protestant minister who lived in North Kohala from 1841 until he died in 1896.

The location of the mill was described by Mr. Bond, writing for his children:

I wish that it were in my power to put the neighborhood before you as we found it [in 1841]. On Iole, about 50 rods . . . makai of the present government road . . . stood one grass house . . . near the present [big taro patch] was a row of . . . houses . . . on the path running seawards. . . . The cattle pen as it is now . . . a short distance above and below was Aiko's sugar establishment just built. . . . The old tumbled-down meeting house stood just makai of the present meeting house near the mauka wall and Aiko's sugar house was a little to the East.⁵³

Another description of this sugar mill was given by A. O. Forbes, the son of an American missionary, who visited the Bonds on his way back to Punahou School in 1847:

Tues. 15 Today I visited the Chinaman's establishment for making sugar and molasses. It consists of three buildings situated not far from Mr. Bond's house. . . . The buildings are of thatch, and built in native style, except the one which is used to grind the cane in. This however is not a house. It is a kind of shed with a top like a Chinese umbrella, and open on the sides. In this is the mill, which is made of native wood and worked by oxen. A trough underground connects this with the boiling house, the juice extracted from the cane being conveyed by means of this trough into a vat in the boiling house. From that it is dipped into the pots and boiled until it is of the proper consistency.

It is then set to drain in pots, and the drainings are what is called molasses. The sugar is left in the pots. By a certain process, the sugar is clarified and prepared for sale. The juice, after it has been boiled is sometimes used without draining. It is then called syrup. . . .⁵⁴

One of Aiko's partners in the Kohala plantation was a man named Lau Fai, whom the Hawaiians called Hapai. He is first mentioned in relation to the mission's use of the Chinese men's buildings. "While waiting for the rebuilding of the old church [one of the thatched churches], services were held in the large sugar sheds that had been put up by Aiko and Hapai, the Chinamen who had contracted with Governor Kuakini to manufacture sugar. . . ."⁵⁵

Thomas George Thrum in "Notes on the Hawaiian Sugar Industry," written some years later, gives us the reason why Aiko and eventually Hapai left North Kohala and went to Hilo:

Aiko was successful in making money and would have remained [in Kohala] but after Huakini's [Kuakini] death in 1844 the heirs of Huakini so increased the rents of the lands and other charges that he threw the whole thing up in disgust and left for Hilo . . . where he now [1875] resides. . . . Aiko later returned, ground the last crop and definitely closed up the business in 1849-50. . . .⁵⁶

AIKO IN HILO

Aiko's Chinese name was Lum Jo. The two names are easily identified as the same because he signed many documents during his life in Hawaii, and the Chinese characters for Lum Jo are not complicated and therefore easy to translate. He was also known as Aicho, both Aiko and Aicho presumably derived from Lum Ah Jo.

Aiko was born in China in 1799. He settled in Hilo shortly after Governor Kuakini's death in 1844. Whether or not he originally came to Hawaii with Captain Brewer as stated by T. G. Thrum, a contemporary of Aiko, cannot be confirmed. He was in Waimea at least by 1835 or early 1836, as previously

stated, because his daughter Amelia Akoi was born in Waimea in December, 1836.⁵⁷

Aiko married a Hawaiian woman named Maria Kaahuapea who had relatives living makai of Lihue plantation with whom she traded. She and their daughter, Amelia Akoi, were baptized as Roman Catholics in 1842 in Waimea. Aiko appears to have had only one child, Amelia, but he adopted two and was guardian for another. These children were:

Amelia Akoi, b. 1836, married Kamukai Victor, son of A'ina.

Akana, b. 1839 (?), child of Ahsam who drowned in '47, and Kamakahema.

Sam Kauehe, b. 1845, adopted, was son of Hapai and Iehu.

Harriet or Haliela, adopted, married Charles Kuiniki nui (Akongee) Hapai.⁵⁸

In 1845, Aiko acquired an acre of land in the *ahupuaa* of Kukuau, Hilo, from a Hawaiian man named Puna. (Fig. 2) The property was in two pieces straddling the Volcano Road, now Kilauea Avenue, near the present corner of Kilauea and Kukuau Streets. This land was granted to him in fee in 1851 in the *Mahele*, as Land Commission Awards 3995 and 3205. In 1863, he gave the upper portion of this land to his daughter, Amelia Akoi.⁵⁹

A large area surrounding this *kuleana* of Aiko's belonged to High Chief John Young, grandfather of Queen Emma. Correspondence in 1857 between B. Pitman and W. Webster reveals Aiko's relationship to this land:

The late John Young or family have a land here in Kukuau which is in the hands of one Aicho, a Chinaman, who has held the same . . . been under the impression as land agent . . . Aicho has had charge of this land for a number of years, and has a house lot upon it for which I should suppose he has a title. He is not now in town but upon his coming into the bay I will personally interview him. . . .

Sept. 28, 1857.

I have had an interview with Aicho, the Chinaman, and learn from him . . . that he is merely *konohiki* of the land belonging to the Young family, that he holds his trust from Kapana, old Mrs. Young's second husband . . . the emoluments derived from the land (though very small) have always been paid in. The revenue . . . he says is scarcely enough to make it worth looking after. He makes no use of it in anyway himself. For his own lot he informs me he has a fee simple title.

B. Pitman, Oct. 20, 1857.⁶⁰

In 1846, Aiko had the vessel *Kahalaia* under charter, sailing at least between Hilo and Honolulu. In a letter of David Belden Lyman is found this statement:

The *Kahalaia* is chartered by a Chinaman, Aiko, for the trip. A native of his is bearer of this [letter] and will . . . call you up for the freight.⁶¹

In 1848, Aiko applied for a license for a bowling alley.⁶² Both he and Akina had bowling alleys and in 1854 one of them burned to the ground. Mrs. Charles Wetmore, wife of the mission doctor, whose home was near the present Haili Street, viewed the fire as a mixed blessing:

Bowling alley a short distance below our house burned and eight buildings near it . . . glad to be rid of the bowling alley but feel sorry for the Chinaman who had a very neat store burnt. . . .⁶³

An interesting sidelight to this was that, in 1856, Dr. Wetmore leased a portion of his land on Church Street with the specific proviso that it could not be used for a grog shop or a bowling alley nor was intoxicating liquor to be sold on the premises.⁶⁴

In 1849, a Hawaiian passport was issued by the Minister of Foreign Affairs to an Aicho of Hilo allowing him to travel to California aboard the Barque *Asenath*. If this was Aiko, perhaps he was lured to try his luck in the gold fields. The document gave the man's height as five feet six inches and his age as fifty, which was Aiko's age in 1849.⁶⁵

Although this versatile man had a store, a bowling alley, chartered ships, bought, sold and leased considerable property during his years in Hilo, he appears to have been primarily a sugar man. As has already been noted, he was a principal partner in two early sugar plantations in North and South Kohala. In Hilo, he was involved in a plantation on Ponahawai hill, but not as actively as others of the Hilo Chinese group. The Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society Report for 1856 states that there were two sugar plantations in Hilo that year: one belonging to Aiko which produced 110 tons and one belonging to C. P. Samsing & Company which produced 70 tons. The report does not give the exact location of either plantation. In 1853, Aiko had leased fifty acres that belonged to the estate of High Chiefess Kekauonohi in Palaikou (possibly Papaikou) and in 1858 he bought twenty acres of land in Wainaku.⁶⁶

In January 1862, Aiko was baptized as a Roman Catholic, and in July of the same year he gave a dinner party for the clergy and important guests following the blessing of the new St. Joseph's Church (then on Keawe Street). In 1863, he married his second wife, Kuailua.⁶⁷

In 1869, when Aiko was seventy years old, he sold his twenty acres at Wainaku and possibly retired from sugar growing.⁶⁸

From the meager historical sources available, it is difficult to create profiles of these early Chinese settlers, but records of land transactions in the Kingdom of Hawaii were kept from 1845 and they can be revealing. In Aiko's case, he bought, leased, sold and gave away a number of properties in Hilo and on the Hamakua side of the Wailuku River. His relationship to one particular piece of property reveals some qualities of this man, especially his business acumen and his affection for his children.

In 1863, he bought a half an acre of property for \$200 on the Puna corner of what is now Haili Street at Kamehameha Avenue from a Hawaiian man named Apiki who had received title to it in the *Mahele* as LCA 3769. Two years later, Aiko mortgaged the property for \$2230 for a period of five years. Five years later, he gave 7,040 square feet of this lot to his son-in-law, Charles Kuiniki (Akongee) Hapai, "for one dollar and for the great love I have for my adopted daughter, Haliela." In 1870, Aiko sold 2,137 square feet of the original lot to a man named Ahana, of Honolulu, for \$1600. In seven years its value had risen from less than 1 cent a square foot to 75 cents. In 1871, he gave the remaining portion, after the gift to C. K. Hapai and sale to Ahana, to his daughter, Amelia Akoi Victor, with the proviso that the rents and profits were "for her sole and separate use . . . free from the management of her

husband." This piece of land was held in the Victor family for almost a hundred years.⁶⁹

Aiko died in Hilo in 1895 at the age of 95 years and two months, and was buried in the old Roman Catholic cemetery off Waianuenue Avenue near Laimana Street. One of his great-granddaughters, Helen Shaw, remembers him as an old man. He lived then with his daughter, Amelia Akoi Victor and her husband, Kamukai, at the old Victor family home on Kilauea Avenue. He still wore Chinese clothes and his hair was still braided in a queue. He was quite blind by this time and he used to sit on the lanai smoking a long bamboo pipe.

This early Chinese settler who arrived in Hawaii about 140 years ago has many descendants, a large number of whom still live in Hilo.

HAPAI

A Chinese man named Lau Fai, called Hapai by the Hawaiians, settled in Hilo in 1845 or 1846. Before proceeding with what is known of his life in Hilo, it is worth examining the question of whether Lau Fai was also Lau Ki, one of the partners of Aiko in the Lihue Plantation at Waimea, Hawaii.

Lau Ki was referred to as Kalauki, Lauki, and once as Kau Lau Kee. As Hawaiian names were sometimes prefaced by the article *Ka*, meaning "the," one may assume that the Chinese man whom they called Ka-lau-ki had the surname Lau. The pattern of movement on the Island of Hawaii of Lau Ki was strikingly similar to that of Lau Fai (Hapai). This pattern was recorded in two separate accounts, one in the reminiscences of Alfred W. Carter who lived for many years in the Waimea area and the other by a Hawaiian man, Kainupau, who lived in Waimea at the time when the Chinese plantation was there.

Kainupau, testifying in the Waimea Water Rights Case stated:

The Chinamen were the first who planted cane there [Waimea] until they gave it up and went to Kohala . . . I cannot tell you why they left. . . . They left there and went to Kohala and stayed in Kohala some length of time . . . then they went to Hilo.⁷⁰

Mr. Carter's account goes further into the activities of Lau Ki:

Kalauki became a figure in Hawaiian history when he started the Lihue Plantation on the Island of Hawaii . . . [the cane] was the native red and striped cane . . . Lau Ki's two Chinese partners in the venture were named Aiko and Apokani and he also had some Hawaiian workers. The cane was ground in a primitive mill . . . Lau Ki started several sugar plantations in the early part of his career. They had water power . . . a water wheel and water brought from the Waikoloa Stream to Lihue. He persevered in this for some time and others planted sugar cane in places around Waimea including Kamaloo, for the mill belonging to Lau Ki. After a number of years it was considered a failure. . . . From Lihue he went to Kohala and located a sugar plantation there. . . . From there he went to Hilo where his plantation was located on the slopes in back of the city. . . .⁷¹

Lau Fai (Hapai) was in Kohala as a partner of Aiko in the plantation at Iole, but there is no evidence of a person by the name of Lau Ki in Kohala. Lau Fai went from Kohala to Hilo where he and other Chinese men had a plantation

at Ponahawai which is certainly "on the slopes in back of the city." (Fig. 4) No reference to anyone named Lau Ki has been found in Hilo at this period.

Two other references to Kalauki have been found, both located him in Honolulu. The first has been referred to previously in relation to the identification of A'ina (Chee In) in which Kalauki, "pake," testified in 1847 that he had seen A'ina living at a Hotel Street address in 1834. It is possible that Lau Fai was in Honolulu before going to the Island of Hawaii. One of his granddaughters, Irene Hinkley, remembers being taken to see a bridge on School Street in Honolulu that was said to have been built by Lau Fai.

The second reference to a Kalauki was dated 1855 when he gave to Apong his power of attorney, in an instrument written in Hong Kong. The document includes the sentence: "Kalauki and Akana . . . both of Victoria in the Colony of Hong Kong, Chinese traders, formerly of Honolulu. . . ." ⁷² This appears to be a different person from the Lau Fai (Hapai) of Hilo, unless he went to Hong Kong on buying trips for a store that he had in Hilo for many years.

Leaving unanswered the question of whether Lau Fai was the Lau Ki who was in partnership with Aiko in Waimea, we turn to Lau Fai now called Hapai who moved from Kohala to Hilo in 1845 or 1846. He was born in Canton, China, in 1791, the year that Kamehameha I was dedicating the great war *heiau* of Puukohola at Kawaihae. ⁷³ Family tradition holds that Hapai arrived in the Hawaiian Islands in 1830 or 1832 and that in 1838 he married Iehu, a Hawaiian woman of chiefly rank who was born in Iole, North Kohala. According to her geneology, she was a granddaughter of Kamanawa, one of the high chiefs on Kamehameha I's council of chiefs.

Hapai and Iehu's first child was born in Kohala in 1840 when Hapai was 49 years old, and during the next eighteen years they had eight other children. As far as can be determined, the following is the list of their children:

George Washington Akao, born 1840, married Harriet Rebecca Kamakanoenoe Sniffen. ⁷⁴

Akananui, born 1842, married Charles Edward Richardson in 1858. ⁷⁵

Sam Kauehe, born 1844, given to Aiko for adoption. ⁷⁶

Charles Kuiniki (also called Akongee and Kuiniki nui), born 1846 (?), married first, Harriet, adopted daughter of Aiko; second, Carry Travis. ⁷⁷

Maikaaloa, born 1850, married Kahilo. (?) ⁷⁸

Ai Peter, born 1849, married Waiohinu. ⁷⁹

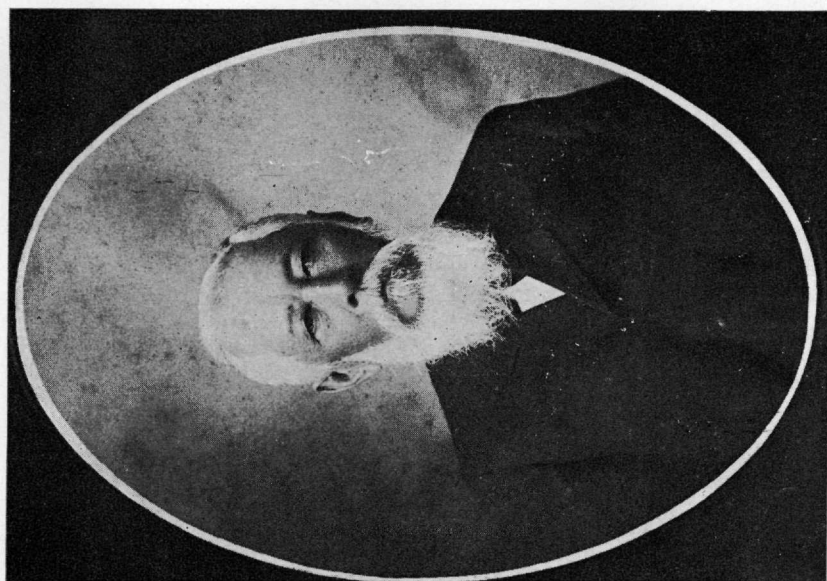
Akongee, also known as Kuinikililii, born 1851, married Sarah Kaina. ⁸⁰

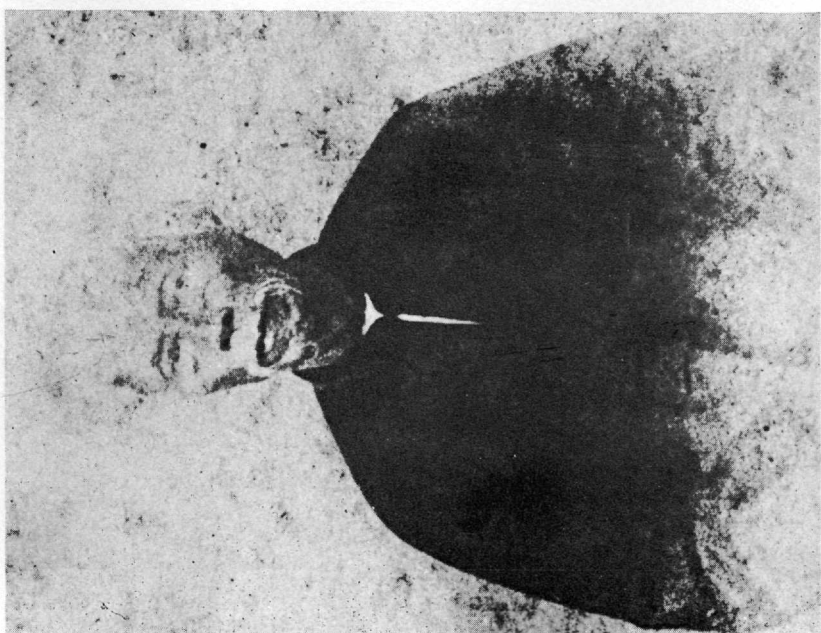
Akanalilii, born 1856, married Julius Lyman Richardson, cousin of C. E. Richardson. ⁸¹

Louisa, born 1858, married August Ahrens. ⁸²

When Hapai settled in Hilo, he started or was a partner in the starting of a plantation at Ponahawai. There is more definite information available about this plantation than of the other early Chinese plantations in the Hilo area because the Chinese men involved had paid annual fees to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (hereafter referred to as

Children of Lau Fai and Iehu: George Washington Akao Hapai; Akananui Hapai, married C. E. Richardson; and Akanalilii Hapai, married J. L. Richardson. (Photos courtesy of Irene A. Hinkley)





ABCFM) for the use of water from an *auwai* that flowed from the Wailuku River, across the boundary between the *ahupuaas* of Piuhonua and Punahoa, and through the Hilo Boarding School property. The rights to this *auwai* were the subject of litigation in 1896 in a case known as the Hilo Boarding School Water Rights Case (hereafter referred to as HBSWRC).⁸³

The Chinese men mentioned in the case as having been involved in the plantation were A. L. Hapai, John Ena, Son Yong, Akono, Akau, S. Amoy, John Ko (sometimes called Keoniko), and Aiko. Dr. Charles Hinckley Wetmore, who arrived in Hilo in 1849, testified:

The mill was put up by A. L. Hapai, John Ena Sr., Akono . . . it had been in operation some years before I came. Their mill was on the Puna side, on the south side of the wall that divides the lands. . . .⁸⁴

Frederick Swartz Lyman, who was born in 1837 and grew up in the Lyman House just makai of the Hilo Boarding School, testified:

I know that it [the *auwai*] has been used by the Sugar Mill . . . by John Ena Sr., Akau and Hapai. . . . I remember these men coming from Kohala and starting this mill in Hilo. I think it must have been in 1845 . . . I was about eight years old at the time . . . they must have had the mill about ten years . . . in 1855 the buildings were destroyed by fire and they gave up the mill. . . .⁸⁵

The phrase "I remember these men coming from Kohala" implies that the Chinese men working at the Ponahawai plantation were together in Kohala before coming to Hilo. Unfortunately, F. S. Lyman did not make it clear which of them were included among "these men."

Another person to testify in the HBSWRC was George Washington Akao Hapai, son of Hapai. He had this to say about the plantation:

I was born in Kohala in 1840. My father formerly planted cane . . . in Kohala. . . .

Yes, I knew when we were planting sugar cane, we were permitted to take water from this ditch . . . my father, John Ena, John Ko, Akau and S. Amoy. . . . My impression is that my father paid cash for it. [Another witness said they paid two dollars apiece a year]. . . .

Before we were there [Ponahawai] other Chinamen cultivated cane at Halai . . . received water from the same stream . . . we succeeded them in the same right . . . I heard that this water was a right that belonged to the land which came to the missionaries. . . .⁸⁶

In 1851, the Ponahawai plantation produced 20,000 pounds of sugar and consisted of 55 acres.⁸⁷

Hapai had other business interests in Hilo beside sugar. In 1857, he was recorded as having one of the five stores in the town, "of stores there were five: Hapai's and Aiko's on Front Street and also Pitman's, Worth's and Mill's." Like other Chinese in this group, Hapai and his wife bought, sold, leased, and mortgaged a number of different pieces of property. In 1852, the Privy Council confirmed the purchase of 18 $\frac{2}{3}$ acres in Kuhua (North Hilo) by Iehu, possibly Hapai's wife. In 1854, Hapai and Iehu bought 1.16 acres in Kukuau (Fig. 2) which bordered the Waiolama River and had a spring on it. This

Lau Fai, called Hapai, and his wife Iehu. (Photos courtesy of their granddaughter, Irene Ahrens Hinkley)

property may have been used as a family farm during the next twelve years. Possibly they grew taro and pigs, rice and ducks for what were probably mixed Hawaiian and Chinese meals in their home.⁸⁸

In 1855, Hapai and Iehu bought a piece of property on the present Haili Street which became the site of the family home for the next twenty years. (Fig. 2) This was a portion of LCA 3867 which had been granted to Puali (also called Pauali) in the Mahele. It was on the Puna side of Haili Street between Kilauea and the shore.⁸⁹

For many years, Hapai had a store on Front Street (now Kamehameha Avenue). Its location may have been on the Hamakua corner of the present Haili Street and Kamehameha Avenue. In 1863, Hapai leased from Titus Coan a portion of an acre on that corner for ten years.⁹⁰

In 1859, Hapai and his wife were the largest donors among the Chinese residents in Hilo to the new Haili Church building.⁹¹ Their gift was \$30 which at the time was a fairly large sum considering that one could buy land in the center of town for less than a cent a square foot. Hapai and Iehu could have been among the Chinese-Hawaiian families who, in 1850, persuaded Mrs. Charles Wetmore to conduct a school in English for theirs and other foreign children. The Hapais had several children on school age in 1850.

In 1873, when he was 82 years old, and most of his children were adults, Hapai gave a portion of the family homesite on Haili Street to his sons, Maikaaloa and Akongee (Kuiniki liilii). He also gave to his next-to-youngest daughter, Akanaliilii, who was then 17 years old, 15/100 of an acre on the corner of Church and Front Street (Haili and Kamehameha Avenue). This was property that he had bought from Titus Coan.⁹²

The next year, in 1874, Hapai died at the age of 83 and was buried in Homelani Cemetery. His tombstone stands on Ponahawai Hill, the site of the early "Chinamens Sugar Plantation" described as "being on the slopes in back of the city." (Fig. 4).

MRS. WETMORE'S SCHOOL

In 1849, Dr. Charles Hinckley Wetmore and his bride, Lucy Sheldon Taylor Wetmore, arrived in the village of Hilo from New England to join the American Protestant Mission families of Titus Coan and David Belden Lyman. They were 29 and 30 years old.

They had hardly settled into their new home when Mrs. Wetmore was urged to start a school for the children of the Chinese settlers and an American business man. It was to be taught in English, although the language of the Hawaiian Kingdom was Hawaiian and the other schools in Hilo were taught in Hawaiian. The little school opened in a room in the Wetmore home on Church Street, in April, 1850. During its first year it had an average of fifteen pupils, who attended for 39 weeks, and Mrs. Wetmore was paid \$260 for her efforts.⁹³ In a letter, Dr. Wetmore described the school:

... their parents have fitted up a room in our house very neatly for a schoolroom; they have desks, seats, and blackboards, after the modern style in the States—they have also furnished a small clock. . . .⁹⁴

The curriculum included reading, writing, spelling, arithmetic and singing, with large doses of Protestant Christianity. The following is a picture of the school from the teacher's desk. Lucy wrote to a friend in New England in 1851:

I must tell you about my school . . . the children do not have as white skins as those I taught at home but they have affectionate hearts, intelligent minds and deathless souls. This quarter I have seventeen, 14 of them have Chinese fathers and native mothers, two an American father and native mother and one is all white. . . . At nine o'clock in the morning I ring my school bell and open the school door and the children come in orderly, bowing and bidding me good morning. After all are seated we take our testaments and read around, all joining in the exercise who are sufficiently advanced in reading . . . after this we have prayer . . . exercises in reading, spelling, and arithmetic. . . . At 11 the little folks walk out in the same orderly manner [and go home for lunch]. . . . In the afternoon we commence at 2 and close a little past three, repeating the Lord's Prayer together. . . .⁹⁵

Dr. Wetmore had a different view of the homeland of the fathers of his Chinese pupils' than they had, but all were agreed on the importance of education:

We feel that it is a field of labor in which she [Lucy] may be usefully employed. These children, if they grow to be men and women and remain in the Islands are destined to occupy stations of great influence, hence it is important that their early education be of the right stamp and it is no less important if they return to the land of their fathers [China]; if it can be a fountain from which a beautiful stream may be poured into that country which has long been shrouded in heathenish darkness, superstition and idolatry we shall . . . have occasion to bless God for having brought them under our influence. . . .⁹⁶

The students made considerable progress and Mrs. Wetmore said that "the children love their school." Apparently the parents were also well pleased. The following is an account of the closing exercises at the end of one term. What a photograph it would have made! All of the parents were there—Chinese, Hawaiian and *haole* (Pitman).

All seemed pleased . . . the children were all very neatly and prettily dressed. I was pleased to see that the girls were conforming more to our modes of dressing [long, dark-colored dresses], heretofore they have been rather gaudily attired, but the boys still cling to their Chinese fashions and some of the younger ones looked very comical with the front part of their head shaved of the hair and the back of the head braided into a little cue. . . .

The children read more intelligently than at any previous examination, some of them write a very pretty hand . . . after exercises in reading, spelling, arithmetic they concluded . . . the girls recited in unison the whole of the ten commandments which they had committed to memory . . . the boys as yet have learned only part of them . . . after this the whole school repeated in concert the Lord's Prayer. . . . Commendable progress. . . .⁹⁷

Who were these girls in their solemn, dark dresses and boys with their hair braided in queues? Judging from the birthdates of the Hawaiian-Chinese children of the early Chinese settlers in Hilo, the following roll of students is suggested:

Parents:

Children:

Akina (Tang Hung Sin) and Kahilo	John Kai Akina, b. 1840
Hapai (Lau Fai) and Iehu	G. W. Akao Hapai, b. 1840 Akana-nui Hapai, b. 1842 Sam Kauehe Hapai, b. 1845 Charles Kuiniki Hapai, b. 1846?
Akau (Tang Chow) and Punana	Charles Akono Akau, b. 1843 James Awai Akau, b. 1846
John Ena (Zane Shang Hsien) and Kaikilani	Amoe Ululani Ena, b. 1842 John Ena, Jr., b. 1843 Laura Amoy Ena, b. 1844-45?
Aiko (Lum Jo) and Maria Kaahuapea	Amelia Akoi Aiko, b. 1836
Keoniko (Lau Cheong?) and Pukai	Yan Kin Ko ? b. ?
Benjamin and Kinoole Pitman	Mary Pitman, b. 1838 Henry Pitman, b. 1843
Ahsam (deceased) and Kamakahema	Akana, b. 1839 (lived with his guardian, Aiko)
A'ina (deceased) and Kaehe	Kamukai, b. 1836

Most of these children, and siblings who were born later, grew up and continued to live in Hilo and other parts of the Islands. Dr. Wetmore was prophetic when he wrote, "These children if they grow to be men and women and remain in these Islands are destined to occupy stations of great influence." But despite the influence of the Protestant mission and the parents' contributions to the new Haili Church building, all but one of these Hawaiian-Chinese families were baptized as Roman Catholics.

AKAU

Another of the Chinese men who settled in Hilo before 1850 was Tang Chow, who became known as Akau or Akao. Tang Chow was listed as one of the "experienced sugar boilers" by the Overseas Penman, and his identity as Akau is made certain by his will, which he wrote in 1869. Not only does he call himself Akau, but he signs it with the Chinese characters that are translated as Tang Chow. We can be certain that he is the same man as the Akau who settled in Hilo because of the names of his wife, Punana, and his four sons (Fig. 3).⁹⁸

Amoe Ululani Ena, oldest daughter of Zane Shang Hsien (John Ena) and Kaikilani. Married the High Chief Levi Haalelea. (Bernice P. Bishop Museum Photo)





The first direct reference to him that was found was as a member of the team who built a mill at Ponahawai about 1845. The sentence is worth repeating, "I know that (the water) was used by the Sugar Mill . . . by John Ena, Sr., Akau and Hapai. . . . I remember these men coming from Kohala and starting this mill in Hilo."⁹⁹ If Akau was in fact one of "these men," then he was with Hapai and Aiko at Iole in North Kohala before coming to Hilo. One then wonders whether he was with Aiko in Waimea. The name Akau was probably arrived at in the same manner as other Hawaiian adaptations of Chinese names, Tang Ah Chow became Akau. Could this Akau have been the Ahchow who gave his name to the Lihue Plantation Company?

This question cannot be answered with certainty, but there was another Ahchow in Waimea who could have been responsible for the company name. This Ahchow was one of the many early Chinese who did business under the name of Samsing. He was a witness at the wedding of Ahsam in Waimea in 1835-36; he was appointed executor of Ahsam's estate when the latter died; he was also appointed guardian of Ahsam's child, Akana, until he asked to be relieved of this duty because of illness in 1850. One document in 1850 refers to him as the "late guardian" of Akana, so presumably he died in 1850. This Ahchow was doing business mostly in Honolulu. No record has been found of his ever being resident in Hilo.¹⁰⁰

The Akau that settled in Hilo married a Hawaiian woman named Punana, held by family tradition to have been an *alii* from Molokai. They had four sons: Charles Akono Nui Akau, born in 1843, who married Maria Iaukea (brought up by the Reverend and Mrs. Lorenzo Lyons in Waimea);¹⁰¹ James Awai Akau, born in 1846, who married Amelia Higgins; William Ai Akau, born in 1849, who married Rose Kapuakomela Stillman; and Akonoliili Piehu Akau, born in 1855, who married Emily Kanewa'alau Porter. The Akau boys were all baptised as Roman Catholics at St. Joseph's Church on June 22, 1861. These records give the birthplace of all of the children as Paukaa, so Akau must have been in the Hilo area from at least 1843. The godmother of the boys at this baptism was Ana Kamakahema. It would be interesting to know if this was the same Kamakahema who was the widow of Ahsam.

Insufficient material has been found to clarify Akau's life as a sugar planter and manufacturer. It is clear that he was one of the Chinese involved with the plantation at Ponahawai. D. H. Hitchcock, writing about early plantations in the Hilo area, stated that, in 1857, Akau owned a sugar plantation at Paukaa (Fig. 1). Early tax records show that Akau paid taxes on property in Paukaa from at least 1857 to 1864, but no records have been found showing that he bought or leased land in this *ahupuaa*. One possibility is that Akau was a partner of Keoni Ko, who is recorded as having leased a total of 8,091 acres in Paukaa in two lots in 1857 and 1860, from Lot Kamehameha. Two other

Some of the first generation Chinese-Hawaiian children born in Hilo:

Top: John Kai Akina, son of Tang Hung Sin (Akina) and Kahilo.

Bottom: John Ena, son of Zane Shang Hsien (John Ena) and Kaikilani.

(Photos courtesy of Ernest Kai and Hawaii State Archives)

Chinese men who were apparently partners in this plantation were John Ena and Tong Yee (called A'i'i, who joined the Hilo Chinese colony in 1850 after trying his luck in the gold fields of California). Tong Yee was said by his daughter, Mrs. Emma Nawahi, to have fashioned the rollers of the mill (at Paukaa) with his own hands from huge *ohia* logs.¹⁰²

Akau paid taxes on property in Amauulu in 1859 and 1860 when the sugar plantation there was doing business as Ewo Plantation, so he must have been another one of the Chinese involved in the many changes of management and ownership of Amauulu. He also is recorded as buying 63 acres of land in Kaiwiki in 1860.¹⁰³ This land was retained in the family for many years. The land of Kaiwiki at one place adjoins the land of Paukaa. Possibly the cane fields ran together at this place.

Family tradition and the baptismal records hold that all four of Akau's sons were born at Paukaa. If this is true, then the Akaus were living at Paukaa from 1843 thru 1855. In 1861 and 1862, Akau and his wife bought property in the village of Hilo, so possibly they moved into "town." The first piece was an acre in Kukuau purchased by Punana and used for many years as a family farm (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁴ The Waiolama River came much farther inland in those days and the area was full of taro patches and fishponds.

In 1862, Akau bought a piece of land in Punahoa which became the Akau homesite. It was on the Puna side of Church Street (now Haili Street) next to the Hapais (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁵ Akau bought this property from Akina. Family tradition in both families held that Akau and Akina (Tang Chow and Tang Hung Sin) were brothers.

In his will, Akau left his interest in the Kaiwiki property to his wife, Punana, during her life time; after her death it was to go to his sons. To his sons, "C. Akono Akau, J. Awai, Ai, and Akonoliiliu," he left his two *kuleanas* in Punahoa; one was the homesite on Church Street and the other was probably business property on Front Street, which he had bought from Aiko in 1867.¹⁰⁶ He also appointed his oldest son, C. Akono Akau, as the executor of his estate.

On May 7, in 1871, Akau died in Hilo at the age of 90 after spending almost half of his long life in Hawaii. Like others of the early Chinese settlers, he has many descendants.

KEONI KO

The Chinese man named Keoniko presents a challenge because there is so little material about him and his life in Hilo. Yet it is known that he was with the group that put up a sugar mill on Ponahawai about 1845, and he was still in Hilo mortgaging a piece of land in 1871.

He was referred to by a number of variations of Keoniko: John Ko, Keoni Ko, Johnnie Ko. He put up security for John Ena when the latter applied for a peddler's license in 1849. He gave ten dollars to the new Haili Church building in 1859. In 1857, he and Ahoon leased 280 acres in Paukaa from Lot Kamehameha, and in 1860 they leased 7,811 more acres in Paukaa, also from

Lot Kamehameha.¹⁰⁷ Whether he was in partnership with Akau, John Ena or Tong Yee Ai'i who were all involved in growing sugar in Paukaa at this same period is not known. There are no Chinese signatures on either of the lease documents. One is signed Keoni Ko (Pake) and the other J. Keoniko.

Keoniko was married to a Hawaiian woman named Pukai; they had one child, a boy named Yan Kin. In 1866, they gave this child a portion of the property which they had bought from Kaapa and his wife, Kina, in two separate sales, one in 1857 and one in 1862. This was a grant of land that Kaapa had acquired in the *Mahele* as LCA 2228. It was located on what is now Ululani Street on the Puna side of the Haili Church. Interestingly enough, Keoniko also gave a portion of this property to his mother-in-law (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁸

In 1871, Keoniko mortgaged a piece of property to L. Hapai and Son. This is the only document found that has a Chinese signature for Keoniko. It is signed both John Ko and the character which translates as Cheong.¹⁰⁹ (See Glossary for the character.) There was a Lau Cheong in the Overseas Penman list. It may be possible that Keoniko was that Lau Cheong. Cheong like Shang sounds like John. The word *ko* in Chinese means older brother. Is it possible that Lau Cheong and Lau Fai (Hapai) were brothers?

JOHN ENA

The Chinese name of the man whom the Hawaiians called John Ena was Zane (or Tseng) Shang Hsien (or In). Few documents with his signature have been found, but one very clear seal indicates that part of his name was Shang Hsien.¹¹⁰ Another document clearly gives his surname as Zane (or Tseng). (See Glossary for the Chinese characters.) He may or may not have been the person listed by the Overseas Penman as Tsang Sing.

Nevertheless, there was a Chinese man called John Ena who settled in Hilo before 1850. Before the name "settled down" to John Ena, it had these other forms: John Enner, Shang Enna, Keoni (John in Hawaiian) Ina. The name continues today in Ena Road in Waikiki, which was named for the son of the first John Ena. It is pronounced as a long *e*. Considering that the Hawaiian pronunciation of the letter *e* is *i*, it is surprising that the name was not spelled Ina. The John part of the name is understandable as this man's name was Zane or Tseng Shang In. Chinese Shang sounds like John.

John Ena was one of the group of Chinese men who had a sugar plantation and mill on Ponahawai hill, started about 1845. He was also one of those who F. S. Lyman (in his testimony at the HBSWRC) implied had been in Kohala before coming to Hilo.¹¹¹

Sometime before 1842 he married a Hawaiian woman of very high chiefly rank, described as Kaikilani "*Alii Wahine o Puna*." The obituary for her daughter, Amoe Ululani Haalelea, states that Kaikilani was a "true daughter of Paia, of the house of Puna."¹¹² Her geneology in the possession of one of her great, great granddaughters shows her to have been a cousin of Iehu Hapai. Among her illustrious ancestors were Kamanawa, the tabu twin in

Kamehameha's council of chiefs, who was also an ancestor of Iehu Hapai, and Kiwalao.

John and Kaikilani Ena had three children: Amoe Ululani who was born in 1842 and married to High Chief Levi Haalelea in 1858; John Ena, Junior, who was born in 1843 and became a prominent business man in Honolulu; and Laura Amoy Kekuakapuokalani, born in 1844-45 and married to John Harvey Coney.

An interesting insight into John Ena's attitude toward the education of his children is afforded by a letter written by the Reverend Titus Coan to Dr. Charles H. Wetmore in 1850, when Dr. Wetmore was away from Hilo:

Keoni Ina is anxious to get a strip of land 8 fathoms wide on the makai side of your makai field running from Punahoa Street [formerly Church Street, now Haili] to More's fence. He says he only wishes to put a dwelling house . . . that his children may be nearer school. . . .¹¹³

Dr. Wetmore was apparently not interested in selling this land, but John Ena did get land near to the school. In 1851, he leased almost an acre from a Hawaiian man named Kalakuaioha for twenty years. This was LCA 6244, on the Puna side of the present Haili Street, between Kinoole and Kilauea Streets.¹¹⁴ (Fig. 2)

In addition to John Ena's association with the other Chinese in the Pona-hawai sugar plantation, he was also associated at various times with Chinese groups in the plantations at Paukaa, Papaikou and Amaulu.¹¹⁵

John Mortimer Lydgate, referring to the year 1865, wrote of John Ena's daughter, Laura Ena Coney:

Mrs. Coney was an exceptionally fine woman of high character, gracious manner, generous instincts and kind disposition. . . . The Coneys lived in a long grass thatched house on the mauka side of the courthouse lot, and later built a pretentious residence which is now [1922] the County Building. . . .¹¹⁶

Another earlier article which further reflects the attitude of the community toward the Hawaiian-Chinese children of the early Chinese settlers was written by the editor of the *Polynesian* in 1858 (possibly referring to Amoe Ululani Ena):

In Hilo, I was told, over and over again, the girls of half Chinese and half Hawaiian origin were the best educated, the most fluent in the English language, the neatest housewives, and the most likely young ladies. . . . One young lady of such origin . . . was married just before I arrived to a chief of considerable wealth, and if all that is said about her is true, he ought to be looking upon himself as one of the happiest and luckiest of men, for besides being possessed of the usual attractions, the bride, they say, is sensible. The gossip in the village Hilo . . . was that she laid down some most excellent conditions, and only upon receiving a promise that they would be observed, did she consent to renounce her parents care. . . . But fancy a young country girl, whose world had been the village of Hilo, with an ardent, not to say remarkably well-off lover at her feet, dictating the terms upon which she would consent to become rich, dress handsomely and live in a large house in the metropolis! Ah, John Chinaman, your pains were not thrown away.¹¹⁷

It is hoped that further information will be found to round out the somewhat fragmentary story of a group of adventurous Chinese men who came to Hawaii with the sandalwood traders between 1820 and 1840. They must have

heard that sugar cane grew in abundance in some parts of what they called the "Sandalwood Mountains," because some of them brought stone sugar "mills" with them as well as other equipment and the knowledge of how to convert sugar cane into crystallized sugar. They may have originally planned to return to South China, but they married Hawaiian women and settled permanently in the village of Hilo.

It is not known how much influence their early sugar plantations had upon the later development of the sugar industry in Hawaii, but it is known that they were the pioneers, struggling with the problems of labor, droughts, fluctuating prices, water supplies, and probably insects, rats and other difficulties that plague the commercial growing of sugar.

There are at present many Hawaiian-Chinese descendants of these hardy pioneers, most of whom are unfamiliar with the story. In the intervening century, even the knowledge of their Chinese names has been lost, because the names were adapted to the Hawaiian language which dominated the Hilo of their day.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE CHARACTERS

OVERSEAS PENMAN CLUB LIST		HAWAIIAN NAMES	SIGNATURES FOUND
Tang Sin	鄧 善	Akina	Tang Hung Sin 鄧行善
Tang Chow	鄧 秋	Akau	Tang Chow 鄧 秋
Lum Jo	林 佐	Aiko	Lum Jo 林 佐
Lau Cheong	劉 璋	Keoniko	Cheong 章
Tsang Sing	曾 成	John Ena	Zane (Tseng) Shang Hsien (In) 曾尙賢
1820-1830	“一千八百二三十年間”		

OTHERS

		A'ina	Chee In	徐 燕
		Hapai	Lau Fai	劉 輝
Lau Ki	劉 其 ?		No signature found	

Appendix

Chinese Method of Manufacturing Sugar

Mr. Editor, —

While on a visit to Waimea, Kauai, a year or two since, I happened in at a sugar-mill then in operation under the management of three Chinamen; it being the first establishment of the kind I had ever seen in operation, I was induced to spend nearly an hour in noticing the mode which the Chinese adopt in producing sugar from the cane; and, with a view of amusing some of your more distant readers, I herewith send you an outline of the mill, as it then stood, and a partial description of their method of setting sugar pans.

Some ten or a dozen upright posts supported a straw roof which protected from the sun, the mill, boilers, three or four jaded horses and a score of hogs, which at times seemed to claim a part of the juice which flowed from the mill. In the centre of the building a heap of earth was thrown up, in which were implanted two upright posts of rough granite, their upper ends being hewn off to something resembling a tenon; a plank extended from one post to the other, having in it two mortices to receive the tenons; also, two circular holes to receive the necks of two rollers. These rollers were of granite, about two and a half feet in diameter, and two feet high, and were morticed near the top at proper distances to receive wooden cogs, which, apparently, were made with no other tool than a broad-ax. The bed of the mill was a granite slab imbedded in the earth and had in it two round holes to receive the lower necks of the rollers, also, a channel extending from four to five inches round the rollers, the outlet to which (when the lump of mud was removed) allowed the juice to flow through a gutter under the horse-walk to a small tub. The necks of these rollers were all of wood, about six inches in diameter and their bearings protected by an iron band. On one of these was secured the arm or lever to which the power was applied; this arm was merely the branch of a tree (imported with the rollers.) Some pains must have been taken to select one whose natural crook should answer the purpose: it was secured to the neck of the roller by a *rope*; a single horse attached to its end, with a plentiful application of the lash, gave motion to the rollers. He, whose business it was to feed the rollers with cane, seated himself in front of them, and generally kept three or four sticks of cane between the rollers, allowing it, at first, to be gently squeezed, the second time more so, and on passing it between the rollers the third time it was also drawn through a stout iron funnel which effectually took all the remaining juice.—(Fig. 1)

The evaporating pans contained about twenty galls. each and were set triangularly, thus: (Fig. 2) The furnace was built of sun burnt bricks, 18 inches long 9 wide and 6 thick. These bricks (if they can be so called) are made of common earth, *hens' feathers*, *goats' hair*, *hogs' bristles*, and water, and laid up with the same compound; the mouth of the furnace was about two feet high

Fig. 1

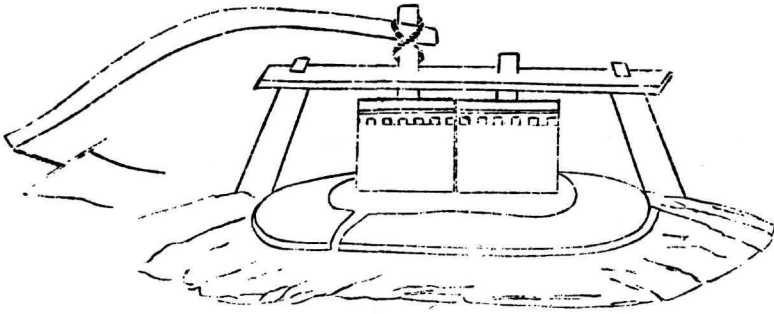
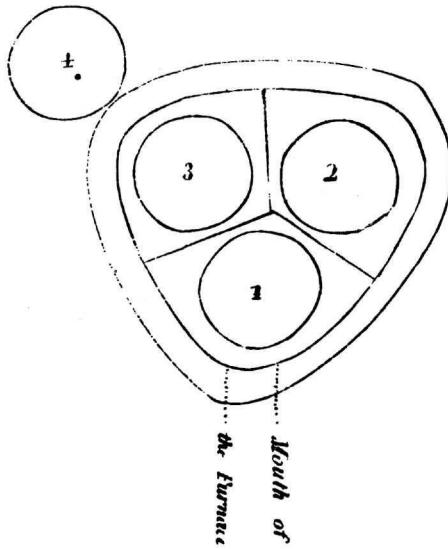


Fig. 2



Chinese Sugar Mill

King Ho's mill

Drawing of the Chinese sugar mill described in the "Appendix." The last sentence of the accompanying article seems to indicate that this was the mill at Waimea, Kauai, which William French closed up in 1838.

by one foot wide, and directly over it was a small hole to allow the smoke to pass off. The capacity of the pans was increased two-fold by extending the brick work two feet above the rims; this brick work was protected from the action of the syrup, (at least for a time,) by being covered with mats, tapas, banana leaves, lime, brick dust, etc.

Pan No. 1. (Fig. 2) seemed to be used for a clarifier only, and was separated from the other two by two boards, projecting from the brick work to a common centre. Pans 2 and 3 served for evaporators and when the ebullition was great, flowed into each other; this was prevented by, occasionally, throwing in a small quantity of an offensive, greasy preparation, the principal ingredient of which is the *lees* of ground nut oil.

The syrup was concentrated in pan 3, thence removed to cooler 4. To ascertain when the syrup had arrived at the chrystalizing point, a small coarse grained stone, made for the purpose, was placed in the bottom of a saucer of cold water, on which a portion of the syrup was dropped; the boiler rubbing his thumb over it soon determined whether it was sufficiently boiled. From the cooler it was removed to conical clay pots, holding about 20 lbs. each: these pots were not filled, till after three successive boilings. I noticed the Chinese did not *clay* their sugar, but used rice straw well saturated with water; this was placed on top of the sugar containers to the depth of 3 or 4 inches, the water from which passing through the sugar removed all the molasses.

This sugar was crushed, and exposed to the sun, before sending to market.

The mill, indeed the whole apparatus, was exceedingly rude, but it appeared to answer a good purpose. I was told that they had made 300 lbs. of sugar per day with it.

It is to be regretted that some plan could not have been devised, which would have rendered it for the interest of all concerned to keep the mill in operation.

H.

(*Hawaiian Spectator*, II, January 1839)

NOTES

- ¹ Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, *United States Exploring Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1845) IV, 115.
- ² Milton C. George, *The Development of Hilo* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1948), p. 21.
- ³ *Sandwich Island Mirror*, Column by "Tatler," March, 1840.
- ⁴ Charles Burnham to William Hooper, September 2 and September 13, 1839. William Hooper Letters. (Hawaiian Collection, University of Hawaii, cited hereafter as Hooper Letters.)
- ⁵ Overseas Penman Club, *The Chinese in Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1929), Chinese language section on Economics, p. 45, translated by Tin-Yuke Char.
- ⁶ Hooper Letters, September 23, 1835.
- ⁷ *Ibid.*, May 7, 1838.
- ⁸ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, p. 209.
- ⁹ Hilo Boarding School Water Rights Case, Attorney General Case 2248 (hereafter referred to as HBSWRC), Transcript, p. 86. (AH)
- ¹⁰ Thomas George Thrum, "Notes on the Sugar Industry in the Hawaiian Islands," HAA, 1875, pp. 34-42.
- ¹¹ FO & Ex, December 5, 1843.
- ¹² Henry Munson Lyman, M.D., *Hawaiian Yesterdays* (Chicago, 1906), p. 70.
- ¹³ John Mortimer Lydgate, "Some Plantation Memories," HAA, 1918, pp. 75-76.
- ¹⁴ HBSWRC, Trans., p. 358.
- ¹⁵ Wilkes, *U.S. Exploring Expedition*, p. 209.
- ¹⁶ Foreign Testimony, III, 451-452, Land Commission Records. (AH)
- ¹⁷ FO & Ex, August 5, 1844.
- ¹⁸ British Commission Claim 10, FO & Ex.
- ¹⁹ First Circuit Court Probate 4. (AH)
- ²⁰ LCA Vol. I, pp. 331-332, Land Commission Records. (AH)
- ²¹ Lowell Smith, Marriage Records, 0-27. (AH)
- ²² Native Testimony, II, 383. (AH)
- ²³ First Circuit Court Probate 15. (AH)
- ²⁴ Foreign Testimony, III, 451-452. (AH)
- ²⁵ First Circuit Court Probate 15. (AH)
- ²⁶ HBC, 104:210; HBC, 168:319; Roman Catholic Cemetery, Hilo; St. Joseph's Church Marriage Records.
- ²⁷ British Commission Claim 11, FO & Ex.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*
- ²⁹ Native Testimony, IV, 425. (AH)
- ³⁰ LCA Vol. III, p. 142. (AH)
- ³¹ HBSWRC, pp. 35-37. (AH)
- ³² PC, III, 312.
- ³³ RHAS, *Transactions*, 1851, Vol. 1, No. 2, pp. 50-51.
- ³⁴ HA, Centennial Edition, July 1-17, 1959, Sec. III, p. 4.
- ³⁵ Tax Records, Hilo, 1860. (AH)
- ³⁶ IDLB, July 5, 1848.
- ³⁷ Native Testimony, V, 47. (AH)
- ³⁸ HBC, 23:109-110; F, May 1858.
- ³⁹ IDLB, October 26, 1852, Bk. 6, p. 27.

- ⁴⁰ HBC, 6:829; HBC, 8:289; HBC, 15:304.
- ⁴¹ F, June, 1859.
- ⁴² *Men of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1917), p. 17.
- ⁴³ Missionary Letters, 266.858 M 69. (HMCS)
- ⁴⁴ Francis Allyn Olmsted, *Incidents of a Whaling Voyage* (New York, 1841), p. 219.
- ⁴⁵ British Commission Claim 7, FO & Ex.
- ⁴⁶ First Circuit Court Probate 4. (AH)
- ⁴⁷ Lucille Brundage, *Alfred W. Carter* (Kamuela, Hawaii, 1971), p. 30.
- ⁴⁸ Family Tradition and Roman Catholic Cemetery, Hilo.
- ⁴⁹ HBC, 4:419.
- ⁵⁰ Attorney General File C23111, (AH); 4th Circuit (Kona) Court Case Eo83, p. 1750. (hereafter cited as WWRC). (AH)
- ⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 192.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 257, 260.
- ⁵³ Ethel Damon, *Father Bond of Kohala* (Honolulu, 1927), p. 72.
- ⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.
- ⁵⁵ D. C. M. Hyde, quoted in Damon, *Father Bond*, p. 76.
- ⁵⁶ Thrum, "Notes on the Sugar Industry," p. 42.
- ⁵⁷ Roman Catholic Cemetery, Hilo; personal interview, Mrs. Helen Shaw.
- ⁵⁸ First Circuit Court Probate 10. (AH); HBC, 14:81; Baptismal Records, St. Joseph's Church, Hilo.
- ⁵⁹ LCA Vol. IV, pp. 314-315, and Native Testimony IV, 402. (AH); HBC, 16:385.
- ⁶⁰ IDLF, Sept. 28, 1857, and Oct. 20, 1857.
- ⁶¹ David Belden Lyman Letters, 1837, p. 69. (Lyman House Memorial Museum, Hilo)
- ⁶² IDLB, Nov. 21, 1848.
- ⁶³ Wetmore Letters, Dec. 1, 1854. (Lyman House Memorial Museum, Hilo)
- ⁶⁴ HBC, 8:50.
- ⁶⁵ Passports 1845-1874, No. 385. (AH)
- ⁶⁶ RHAS, *Transactions*, Vol. II, No. 3, p. 59; HBC, 5:988-989; HBC, 11:184.
- ⁶⁷ Baptismal Records and Marriage Records, St. Joseph's Church, Hilo.
- ⁶⁸ HBC, 22:169.
- ⁶⁹ HBC, 17:354; HBC, 19:220; HBC, 27:7; HBC, 31:153; HBC, 33:189-190.
- ⁷⁰ WWRC, pp. 743-744.
- ⁷¹ Brundage, *Alfred W. Carter*, p. 73.
- ⁷² HBC, 12:186.
- ⁷³ Homelani Cemetery, Hilo.
- ⁷⁴ HBSWRC, Sept. 8, 1896, p. 26.
- ⁷⁵ Homelani Cemetery, Hilo; F, May, 1858.
- ⁷⁶ HBC, 14:81.
- ⁷⁷ HBC, 27:2, and Family Bible.
- ⁷⁸ Baptismal Records.
- ⁷⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ Homelani Cemetery, Hilo.
- ⁸² HSB, April 24, 1943, p. 1, c. 8.
- ⁸³ HBSWRC, Sept. 23, 1896, p. 6.
- ⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 31, 1896, pp. 5-6.

- ⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 16.
- ⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Sept. 8, 1896, pp. 26-29.
- ⁸⁷ RHAS, *Transactions*, Vol. I, No. 2, pp. 50-51.
- ⁸⁸ George, *Development of Hilo*, p. 20; PC, Bk. 6, p. 739; HBC, 6:487.
- ⁸⁹ HBC, 7:222.
- ⁹⁰ HBC, 17:410 and George, *Development of Hilo*, p. 20.
- ⁹¹ F, June, 1859.
- ⁹² HBC, 37:197; HBC, 37:198; HBC, 34:33.
- ⁹³ Charles Wetmore Reports to the Hawaiian Evangelical Society, May 1851. (HMCS)
- ⁹⁴ Charles Wetmore to Rufus Anderson, May 14, 1850, Wetmore Letters 1849-99. (HMCS)
- ⁹⁵ Lucy Wetmore to Mrs. Pomeroy in Massachusetts, July 22, 1851, *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁶ Charles Wetmore to Rufus Anderson, May 14, 1850, *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁷ Charles Wetmore to Rufus Anderson, September 27, 1851, *Ibid.*
- ⁹⁸ Overseas Penman Club, *Chinese In Hawaii*, p. 45; Supreme Court Wills, Other Circuits 212. (AH)
- ⁹⁹ HBSWRC, Sept., p. 16.
- ¹⁰⁰ First Circuit Court Probate 4 and 10. (AH)
- ¹⁰¹ Emma Lyons Doyle, *Makua Laiana, the Story of Lorenzo Lyons*, Rev. ed., (Honolulu, 1953), p. 204.
- ¹⁰² George, *Development of Hilo*, p. 19; Tax Records, Hilo, 1859-65. (AH); HBC, 9:343 and 12:405; *Women of Hawaii* (Honolulu, 1936), p. 217.
- ¹⁰³ IDLB, September 7, 1849; HBC, 12:333.
- ¹⁰⁴ HBC, 14:383.
- ¹⁰⁵ HBC, 15:304.
- ¹⁰⁶ HBC, 23:98.
- ¹⁰⁷ IDLB, Sept. 7, 1849; F, June, 1859; HBC, 9:343 and 12:405.
- ¹⁰⁸ HBC, 20:372; HBC, 9:265 and 15:114-115; HBC, 20:373-374.
- ¹⁰⁹ HBC, 33:135-136.
- ¹¹⁰ ID Licenses, 1852.
- ¹¹¹ HBSWRC, p. 16.
- ¹¹² *Ke Aloha Aina*, April 30, 1904, p. 5, c. 5.
- ¹¹³ Titus Coan to Charles Wetmore, October 30, 1850, Wetmore Letters. (HMCS)
- ¹¹⁴ HBC, 10:53-54.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ke Aloha Aina*, April 30, 1904, p. 5, c. 5.
- ¹¹⁶ John Mortimer Lydgate, *Hilo Fifty Years Ago*, HAA, 1923, p. 101.
- ¹¹⁷ Charles Gordon Hopkins, P., March 20, 1858, p. 365.